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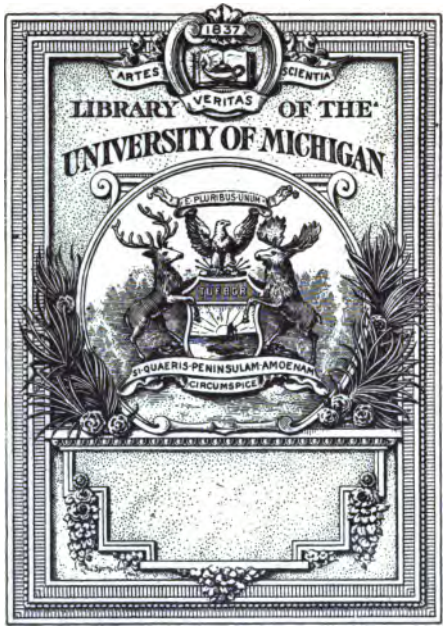

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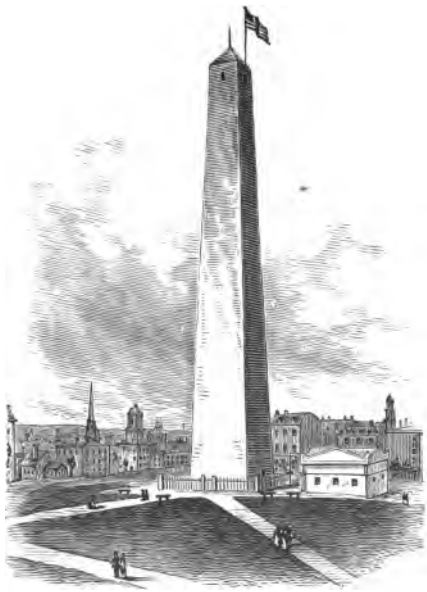

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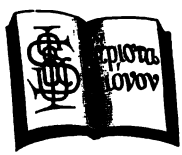
"Remember that Fortune had no part in this."

TIMOTHEUS, 376 B.C.



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PREFACE.

No work of literary significance, worthy of both critical study and contemplative thought, and at the same time closely associated with American History, has been treated with greater neglect than that of the American orators of the first half of the present century. For sound matter and good form, as an incentive to noble endeavor or as a model of noble art, the writings of Daniel Webster are especially remunerative.

No wonder Thorwaldsen, the sculptor, seeing for the first time Hiram Powers's sketch of the head of the great American orator, exclaimed, "Ah! a design for Jupiter!" It is to be hoped, for the sake of future American citizens, that the uniform courses now required for entrance to many of our colleges will continue to include the orations of our statesmen until it will be impossible to find a youth, trained in our High Schools and Academies, unfamiliar with the best speeches of our best speakers.

L. M. H.

WELLESLEY COLLEGE, May 22, 1889.

183769

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TEN FAMOUS AMERICAN ORATORS.

JOHN RANDOLPH, 1773–1833.

HENRY CLAY, 1777–1852.

DANIEL WEBSTER, 1782–1852.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, 1782–1850.

EDWARD EVERETT, 1794–1865.

RUFUS CHOATE, 1799–1858.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, 1804–1879.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1809–1865.

CHARLES SUMNER, 1811–1874.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, 1811–1884.

WEBSTER.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

WEBSTER THE MAN.

BIRTH at Salisbury, N.H., 1782.

Graduation at Dartmouth College, 1801.

Admission to the Bar, 1805.

First marriage (to Grace Fletcher), 1808.

Election to the United States House of Representatives, 1812.

Second election to the United States House of Representatives, 1815.

Removal to Boston, 1816.

Member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1820.

Third election to House of Representatives, 1822.

Fourth election to House of Representatives, 1824.

Election to the United States Senate, 1828.

Second marriage (to Caroline LeRoy), 1829.

Leader of the Whig party, 1834.

Nomination for presidency by the Whig party of Massachusetts, 1834.

Visit to Europe, 1839.

Second election to Senate, 1839.

Secretary of State to Presidents Harrison and Tyler, 1841–1843.

Negotiation of Ashburton Treaty, 1842.

Third election to the Senate, 1844.

Secretary of State to President Fillmore, 1850–1852.
Despatch to Hülsemann, 1850.
Defeat by Whig party in presidential nomination of 1852.[1]
Death at Marshfield, Mass., Oct. 24, 1852.[2]

One of the public buildings of Harvard University is adorned with the sculptured heads of the world's renowned orators. With Demosthenes and Cicero, Bossuet and Burke, Webster finds fair companionship. The skilful jurist, the revered senator, the judicious cabinet officer, the brilliant statesman, are outranked when we recall in him the noble orator, who, like Wallace of Scotland, left his name "like a wild-flower, all over his dear country."

Daniel Webster was born at Salisbury, N.H., Jan. 18, 1782, His father, Ebenezer Webster, served his country both in the French and Indian War and the Revolution, thus giving his son a natural inheritance of patriotism. No less was he indebted to his mother for the intellectual strength and childlike simplicity which marked his thought-habit. A delicate infancy and childhood gave no promise of the vigorous physique or stately beauty of his middle and later years, while the gentle care incident to the rearing of the frail boy precluded the possibility of asking "from the season more than its timely produce." Happily, in his wholesome country home the Bible, Shakespeare, Pope, Addison, and Don Quixote made ample amends for the dearth of so-called child-literature.

Young Webster's preparation for college, like the ghost of Hamlet's father, was a thing "of shreds and patches." The scant instruction of the village school, with a few months at Phillips Exeter Academy, was supplemented by the private tuition of the Rev. Samuel Wood, a country parson otherwise

[1] Webster was three times defeated in his presidential aspirations.

[2] Only one son, of five sons and daughters, survived him: Fletcher Webster, born in Portsmouth, 1812, was killed in the battle of Bull Run, 1862.

unknown to fame. This preliminary work consisted in a modicum of mathematics, for which he had little taste, a smattering of Greek grammar, six books of Virgil's Æneid, and a few of Cicero's Orations. His best equipment was his indomitable courage, his tireless industry, and an ability for self-denial which John Stirling rightly says makes the worst education better than the best that omits it.

He entered Dartmouth College in August, 1797, taking his degree after the customary four years of study. The education which it cost his parents sacrifice and privation to give was valued to its utmost opportunity. It was a career of genius, but never of idle genius. One of his biographers says of him, "His faculty for labor was something prodigious, his memory disciplined by methods not taught him by others, and his intellect was expanded far beyond his years. He was abstemious, religious, of the highest sense of honor, and of the most elevated deportment. His manners were genial, his affections warm, his conversation brilliant and instructive, his temperament cheerful, his gayety overflowing."

Fully believing that his brother possessed the nobler parts, and foreseeing the gulf that would inevitably widen between the brother at college and the brother on the farm, Webster occupied his later college vacations and his early years after graduation by teaching, in order to devote the proceeds to the education of Ezekiel, whose brief but brilliant history fully justified this estimate of his powers.

On his admission to the bar, Webster was a tall, vigorous, finely proportioned man, whose massive forehead and thick, black, beetling eyebrows overshadowed a pair of black eyes as solemn-looking as they were searching. His carriage was erect and slow, his manner moderate and reserved; and, indeed, his whole bearing, after forty years of political life, was but the emphasis of this earlier portrait.

His career as a lawyer, after his admission to the bar in 1805, and a brief practice in his native State and in Boston, was soon merged in the larger life of the orator and statesman. It is fitting that a man whose first and last serious thought was "his country, his whole country, and nothing but his country," should have made his first great national speech at Plymouth on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. The attention that this, together with former patriotic addresses of local interest, and his interests with the Federal party, called forth, sent him as the representative of that party to the eighteenth Congress in 1823. These were the days of Clay and Calhoun, and the beginning of the great debates on the tariff, of the earliest hints of the great anti-slavery controversies of the middle of the century, of the settling of our strained relations to England, and the proposed independence of the South American republics.

From this period his political advancement was without retrogression, though he continued his legal practice, and was retained to plead before the Supreme Court of the United States, where he won immediate fame by establishing a ruling in the relation of States to corporate bodies in the famous Dartmouth College decision.

From 1813, when he took his seat as representative, to the date of his death in 1852, when he filled the office of Secretary of State to President Fillmore, he occupied the positions successively of re-elected representative, member of the Convention to revise the Constitution of Massachusetts, United States senator, and cabinet officer.

No brief sketch can enumerate the services that, in these various capacities, were done for the country he served. The boy who could not see himself take privileges and opportunities that were denied his elder brother was father of the man who made the triumphant reply to Senator Hayne of South Carolina, and showed how the larger family constitution was

endangered by the monopoly of rights in a single member; the youth whose early private necessities demanded that every penny be invested with reflection, so thoroughly mastered the science of finance that the record of his counsel as to the public purse is with few equals, and no superiors. Had Mr. Webster's advice been taken, the ruinous financial disasters of 1837 would not to-day blot our commercial history. The country school teacher whom recreant lads nicknamed "All-eyes," developed a seer's vision, which made him for more than a quarter of a century America's greatest political teacher.

There is a sad significance in the words he once uttered, and which he intended to be taken only literally, "Whatever I have accomplished has been done early in the morning." Webster's great work was done before, possessed of unrestrained ambition and excited by the brilliancy of his own intellect and the unwise devotion of his personal friends, he pursued unworthily the phantom of the possible presidency, and placed himself where the temptation to a time-serving spirit was irresistible. Remembering the losses and defeats of that later period, one is disposed to thank God with him that no one could take away what he had done for his country; but the just narrator will remember also that the best was done early in the morning, before he had learned, with another wise man, the vanity of earthly expectations. Solomon said, "All is vanity;" Webster, "I have given my life to law and politics. Law is uncertain, and politics is utterly vain."

As the great statesman recedes farther and farther in the background of our political history, he who has an eye for perspective cannot fail to see how, like the peak of Teneriffe, he towers above his fellows, or to recall Bacon's aphorism, "There is no great beauty without some strange disproportion." The ultimate product of his life presents all the curious contradictions which can result from an intense love of nature and her

solitudes, and the arena and its excitements; from devoted love of family and friends, and overweening love of personal power; from sincere regard for his country's weal, and the ability to hazard it and produce her woe. But he would be no profound logician, and no clear-sighted reviewer, who could not discern that, in spite of all, by the frequent restatement of universal truths; by reiterated appeals for the necessity of the preserved Union; by judicious counsel in our financial affairs, both domestic and foreign; by the creation of a political literature, that, in the mouth of every schoolboy, becomes the unconscious sentiment of his manhood, Daniel Webster made himself the Foster-Father of our American nationality.

THE STYLE OF WEBSTER.

BECAUSE a superior theme gives a superior vocabulary, we find Webster's richest words in those orations which celebrate the glory of his country rather than in his less famous but masterly legal pleas.

To any one familiar with his life, the sources of his vocabulary are not far to find. He chooses simple, strong words, largely, because in his childhood and youth he had committed to memory so much of the Bible and Shakespeare, that in manhood he had at his command a great exchequer of Anglo-Saxon words. No better example in Websterian literature illustrates his indebtedness to this source than the oration we are about to study, as severe and unadorned in its massive strength as the monument whose erection it celebrates. It is in this stronghold, too, of the Anglo-Saxon, that he is utterly saved from the ordinary temptation of the civic orator; from the strained vehemence of a Calhoun, the verbal felicities of a Clay, and the somewhat over-nice elegance of an Everett.

In the structure of his sentences, Webster offers a pleasing variety; neither the long and periodic, nor the short and abrupt prevails. If he has any distinct tendency, it is either toward the short or the loose sentence, except in those famous perorations whose very nature demanded a sustained length, because of their sustained flight. Often he avails himself of that antithetical effect which makes tedious the pages of Macaulay; more often he makes the happiest use of the balanced sentence, as in, "I mean to use my tongue in the Court, not my pen; to be an actor, not a registrar of other men's actions." Most often he delivers himself of a threefold form which seems, in his method of use, original; as, —

"I was born an American, I live an American, I will die an American;" "we do it once, we do it for our generation, perhaps forever;" "made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people" (of the government); "Liberty and union, one and inseparable, now and forever;" "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish."

But whether long and sustained, or short and brilliant, there is no arrangement of words for effect. There is always the same consistent subservience of the expression to the thought, always the same dependence upon the certain foundations of logic rather than the uncertain flights of rhetoric. Although finish and smoothness do not fail in his best efforts, nor dignity and grandeur in his every effort, it is this natural conservation of energy, the physical and intellectual inheritance of three generations that makes Henry Hallam say, in a private letter to Mrs. Ticknor, "Mr. Webster approaches the beau ideal of a Republican senator more than any man I have seen in the course of my life. He is worthy of Rome or of Venice rather than of our noisy and wrangling generation." To sum up in a single word the leading characteristic of Webster's style, one must avail himself of the word that to

him was the keynote of national strength, and which whether found in the single sentence, or the full thought, or the entire oration, was the ruling passion of his style and his life — unity!

THE TEN MOST FAMOUS SPEECHES OF DANIEL WEBSTER.

ON THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE. U. S. Supreme Court, March 10, 1818.

ON THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW ENGLAND SETTLERS. Plymouth, Mass., Dec. 22, 1820.

ON THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT. Charlestown, Mass., June 17, 1825.

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON. Faneuil Hall, Boston, Mass., Aug. 2, 1826.

STATE'S RIGHTS (Webster's celebrated reply to Hayne). Washington, D. C., Jan. 26, 27, 1830.

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON. Washington, D. C., Feb. 22, 1832.

ON NATIONAL FINANCE. Washington, D. C., July 11, 1832.

ON THE COMPLETION OF BUNKER HILL MONUMENT. Charlestown, Mass., June 17, 1843.

ON THE RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE YOUNG (Girard College Case). Washington, D. C., Feb. 20, 1844.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION. Washington, D. C., March 7, 1850.

HINTS ON THE STUDY OF AN ORATION.

THERE are more than Molière's "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" who seem to think that "All that is not poetry is prose." Though in its broadest sense the term includes technically philosophic and scientific literatures, in the narrower and generally accepted sense, it confines itself to such works as have a distinct literary form. For example, we would not speak of an author who had written, however well, a series of arithmetics, as a writer of English Prose. This is because a certain artistic element must enter into the literary form, and then it becomes Philosophical Prose, as in Leslie Stephen's "History of English Thought;" Historical Prose, as in Macaulay's "History of England;" Poetic Prose, as in Ruskin's "Seven Lamps of Architecture;" Oratorical Prose, as in Webster's "Bunker Hill Orations;" Periodical Prose, as in the ordinary essay and review; or a combination of two or more of these forms, as in the Novel or Romance.

The Oration among prose forms is a composition, which, through argument or reason, heightened by a presentation in person, affects the imagination or will of

the hearer by persuasion. Its best characteristics are sincerity and earnestness.

In studying an oration, we note first to what general class it belongs: as the judicial, which by accusation or defence presents a legal argument; the sacred, which by exposition and exhortation presents an ethical argument; or the forensic, which by eulogy or conviction presents a political argument. The next point to ascertain is the circumstances under which it is delivered as affecting the form of presentation. For example, the local color of the oration in question is deepened both by the fact that it was given on the site of Bunker Hill and to an audience containing individuals who had maintained a significant part in the battle commemorated. Such environments determine whether the speaker can appeal most successfully to the intellect, the will, or the emotions. In the case of political oratory in general, truth is expounded, rights defended, minds convinced, consciences persuaded, emotions excited, or sentiments aroused; sometimes several or all these objects may be attempted, but the best oratory has a preponderance in favor of one. In the third place a careful student will note what branch of an especial theme is treated. For example, under political oratory, one might discuss the constitution, or national finance, or the empire of the state, or the responsibilities of an impending election, or the incentives to a great future by the study of a great past. Whatever be the theme treated, oratory worthy of a statesman must show, on the part of the speaker, a large knowledge of general history and

literature, conversance with the science of government and constitutional law, and enthusiasm for public interests. Such oratory not only becomes a present incentive to public duty, but is equally valuable as a record for future counsel. There is no country which furnishes a more interesting study of oratorical prose than the American Republic, and no orator who has held more securely the public mind, both in his spoken and written form of the address, than Daniel Webster, and this is because his themes, however local, were always made universal in their interest. Happily Mr. Webster, in his famous eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, has given us the key to successful oratory, in a passage only second in felicity to that of Shakespeare in his directions for "the play within the play," in "Hamlet."

"When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech further than as it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth

of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object, — this, this is eloquence; or, rather, it is something greater, and higher than all eloquence, — it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action." [1]

[1] It is interesting to note in connection with the orations of Webster, that his manner of public speaking was deliberate and imposing; that he spoke, except when under great excitement, in a low, sustained, musical tone.

ADDRESS.

THIS uncounted multitude before me, and around me, proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and, from the impulses of a common gratitude, turned reverently to heaven, in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground, distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand, a point of attraction to the eyes of successive

generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to suffer and enjoy the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes, and our own existence. It is more impossible for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great Discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by

colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety, and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without its interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient colony, forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event, in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate; that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The society, whose organ I am, was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought, that for this object no time

could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted; and that springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain, as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that, which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know, that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself, can carry information of the events we commemorate, where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude

to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed not of reason only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish, that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished, where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish, that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event, to every class and every age. We wish, that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish, that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish, that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come on all nations, must be expected to come on us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward,

and be assured that the foundations of our national power still stand strong. We wish, that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object on the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important, that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent states erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve; and the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry; and the dwellers on the banks of the

Ohio and the Mississippi, become the fellow citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce, that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones, which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed; and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power, in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated forever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge; such the improvements in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and above all in liberal ideas, and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here, to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we hold still among us some

of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit, once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

Venerable Men! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood, fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers, and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else, how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death;—all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with an universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a

felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave forever. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amidst this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance, and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived, at least, long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

> 'another morn,
> Risen on mid-noon;—'

and the sky, on which you closed your eyes, was cloudless.

But — ah! — Him! the first great Martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-

devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands; whom nothing brought hither, but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit; Him! cut off by Providence, in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling, ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood, like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name! — Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found, that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit!

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits, who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary Army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days, you put everything at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as

youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive; at a moment of national prosperity, such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met, here, to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of an universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, throng to your embraces. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces; when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory; then look abroad into this lovely land, which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad into the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind.

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the

great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the Act for altering the Government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the other colonies would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage, which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns, would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect, and the most indignant patriotism. 'We are deeply affected,' said its inhabitants, 'with the sense of our public calamities; but

the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province, greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors.' These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart, from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this colony 'is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America.'

But the hour drew nigh, which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner

spread, than it was universally felt, that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

'totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.'

War, on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come, in honor, on the field; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. 'Blandishments,' said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, 'will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men.'

The 17th of June saw the four New England colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them forever, one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most

important effects beyond its immediate result as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal now lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country, has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than they had recently known in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating through Europe, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me. He has not forgotten the emotion, which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

SIR, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy to the living. But, sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God, for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain, that the electric spark of Liberty should be conducted, through you, from the new world to the old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within

which the cornerstone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you, and yours, forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this edifice. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Sir, monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them, this day, to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Sir, we have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. *Serus in cœlum redeas.* Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, oh, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection, to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years, since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in esti-

mating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our own country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making individual and separate advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current beneath, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowlege amongst men, in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the *world* will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all

things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors, or fellow-workers, on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes, important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed, and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true, when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce, which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made in the last half-century, in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment, to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is

the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years, it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, greatly beneficial, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how for-

tunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for making the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great portion of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular, on lasting foun-

dations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all, into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired, is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won, yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has ascertained, and nothing can ascertain the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the Representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis XIV. said, "I am the state," he expressed

the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects; it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian combatant, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions;

> 'Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me to SEE — and Ajax asks no more.'

We may hope, that the growing influence of enlightened sentiments will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars, to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general, and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a

government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments, which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, and add it to other powers, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greece at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age, when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned, should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction, in our undertaking, to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn.

Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or another, in some place or another, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the Revolution of South America; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that Revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own Revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provisions for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states, more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear an useful part in the intercourse of nations. A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the

progress of information not only testifies t
condition, but constitutes, itself, the high
essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fou
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world. The thirteen little colonies of N
habitually called themselves the 'Continent.
by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and
vast regions of the South were hardly visi
horizon. But in our day there hath been
new creation. The Southern Hemisphere emerges from
the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into
the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch
out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the
mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters
of darkness retire.

And, now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the
conviction of the benefit, which the example of our
country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human
freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to
comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel, in all its
importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of
human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system
of representative and popular governments. Thus far
our example shows, that such governments are compatible,
not only with respectibility and power, but with repose,
with peace, with security of personal rights, with good
laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems

are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing condition, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is, to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the Representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, perhaps not always for the better, in form, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that, in our country, any other is impossible. The *Principle* of Free Governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it; immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those are daily dropping from among us, who established our liberty and our government. The great trust now

descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for Independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects, which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze, with admiration, forever!

INTRODUCTION TO NOTES.

"1775 belongs to Massachusetts, — Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill."

An analysis of this address reveals in Mr. Webster a great historical art-painter, and a nct unprofitable exercise might be suggested by the teacher in reproducing it as an historical painting of a memorable battle scene.

The contest is thus described by a lineal descendant of General Warren. "The re-enforcements moving over the water; the fire of the floating batteries and ships of war; the flames from three hundred houses in Charlestown; the ascent of the British troops, pausing from time to time as their artillery played upon the American works; the coolness and intrepidity with which that fire was sustained by our countrymen, and the fatal precision with which they returned it; the broken and recoiling lines of enemy; the final retreat of the gallant band who had withstood them; the tens of thousands looking on from the housetops, steeples, and hills of Boston and all the neighboring country, and beholding with conflicting emotions the awful struggle in their view. It would, perhaps, be difficult to select in history an event more entitled to celebration by the character of the exploits, its great national effects, its astonishing grandeur, and its affecting incidents."

An Association called the Bunker Hill Monument Association, was formed in 1823, with the object to erect at Bunker Hill some lasting monument of the history, valor, and glory of June 17, 1775. Daniel Webster was the second President of this Association.[1] During the three periods of its history, from the laying of

[1] The first President was Gov. John Brooks, a "participant in the Battle of Bunker Hill."

the Corner-Stone to the completion of this first "Pillar of the Republic," there were connected with it the names of many of the most famous Americans of the first half of the century.

As three great names, Warren, Prescott, Putnam, are forever connected with the historic battle-ground, so are three with this granite record: Horatio Greenough the famous American sculptor, whose model was essentially adopted, Loammi Baldwin, who calculated the proportions, and Solomon Willard who was architect and superintendent of the work. It is scarcely less interesting to note that during nearly a score of years, in the three periods of construction, total-abstinence men were invariably employed by the architect, who refused to have completed by those whom he deemed America's curse, what had been begun by those who were her salvation.

It is also worthy of remembrance that but for the co-operation of the women of Boston, led by Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, it would have been left to our own generation to have placed the topmost stone, and to another than the orator who laid its Corner-Stone, to have heard the prophetic echo distinctly given back by the monument on that second[1] festal day, as it gratulated itself with its own completion.[2]

NOTES. — Bunker Hill Monument, in 1850, was made to contribute to the interests of science, by Professors Eben Norton Horsford, and William C. Bond, of Harvard University, who successfully demonstrated there the diurnal rotation of the Earth on its axis, by the famous pendulum experiment. The ball used for this experiment was one of the ill-spent balls of the British.

The American Flag was displayed from the summit of Bunker Hill Monument with great ceremony for the first time, June 17, 1861. Colonel Fletcher Webster, son of Daniel Webster, who was present as a child at the laying of the Stone, made the speech.

[1] In the Charlestown City Library may be found a full length painting of Mr. Webster, represented as delivering this second address, and at the point of saying, "This column stands on Union."

[2] A distinct echo of "Over the globe" was given back by the monument, as Mr. Webster in his second oration uttered the words which referred to the foundation principles of the government: "I would that the fifty thousand voices present could proclaim it with a shout which should be heard over the globe." The applause that followed was as deafening as the battle itself.

NOTES.

LINE **1.** Delegations from all the New England States, most of the Middle States, and some of the Southern States, were present. So long was the procession, that when the vanguard of the line had reached Charlestown Square, the rear had not left Boston Common.

10, 11. Within a radius of ten miles, it is interesting to note that there are no less than ten places of historic interest.

15–20. Cf. Shakespeare's King Henry the Fifth, Act. IV., Scene III., lines 56–67.

> "This story shall the good man teach his son;
> And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered;
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
> For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother: be he ne'er so vile,
> This day shall gentle his condition;
> And gentlemen in England now a-bed
> Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap whiles any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day."

38. Recent historical investigations might make the orator of to-day modify this epithet as applied to "Columbus."

For a vivid and interesting enlargement of this description, see Washington Irving's "Columbus."

59–65. The most important early settlements were those of Virginia Colony, on the James River, 1607; Plymouth Colony, 1620; and Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1628.

83–85. The Corner-Stone of the Monument was laid on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill.

85–88. The Stone was laid with Masonic ceremonies, in which Lafayette assisted the Masonic officers. The other "solemnities" were a prayer by the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, who, as chaplain of

Colonel Prescott's regiment, half a century before, had stood on the same hill to pray for the detachment, and for the success of the battle; and an ode by Rev. John Pierpont.

LINE **94–96.** There are deposited in the Corner-Stone, five different accounts of the Battle of Bunker Hill, a plan of the battle and of Charlestown, an address and letter connected with Bunker Hill Monument Association, a copy of Edward Everett's oration on the Battle of Lexington, a copy of the "Life of Josiah Quincy," specimens of Continental currency, coins and medals of the United States, a fragment of Plymouth Rock, and a copy of each of the Boston newspapers printed during the week of the celebration.

96–98. The height of Bunker Hill Monument is two hundred and twenty feet.

129–130. Mr. Webster doubtless emphasized the word "great" to distinguish this event from Lexington and Ticonderoga.

137–141. A wish which was a prophecy fulfilled during the years of the Civil War, 1861–1865.

145–148. A poetical expression not justified by fact. The first object seen in approaching Boston is the State House Dome.

152–193. The student will find an interesting comparison between the record of the succeeding years, i.e., from 1825 to the present day. For example, the present number of States is forty-two; the twelve millions of people have been augmented to sixty-five millions; the country, which had extended itself to the Ohio and Mississippi, is now settled from ocean to ocean; the railroad which the erection of Bunker Hill Monument caused to be first constructed in the United States, is a network over the entire country; while the telegraphic and other electric systems have been both invented and applied. Add to these the Civil War; the abolishment of Slavery; the measures undertaken toward the citizenship of the Indian; the partial enfranchisement of women; the erection of new colleges, especially those for women; the countless political, philanthropic, and social institutions of America; — and Webster's epitome becomes in turn, "a faint abstract."

A broader and equally interesting comparison may also be made between Webster's summary and a present review of foreign affairs. It is needless to add that lines 177–182 have reference to the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon, the succeeding lines to the South American Republics.

LINE **199-204.** As the result of careful effort on the part of the committee, and a provision for their travelling expenses by the State, nearly two hundred Revolutionary soldiers, forty of whom were in the Battle of Bunker Hill, were present.

205, 206. It is amusing to note in the Memorials of Daniel Webster, that this oft-quoted passage, "Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation," is associated with a trivial experience of a fishing excursion of the day before.

Vide Memorials of Daniel Webster.

215, 216. Next to the death of Joseph Warren, the firing of Charlestown was considered the most tragic event of the historic week.

241-243. Colonel Wm. Prescott,[1] with a detachment of one thousand men, commanded and defended the fort; Gen. Israel Putnam re-enforced Prescott with the Connecticut troops of five hundred men, and with Pomeroy held the centre; Col. John Stark, who declared that there was no commander of the American troops on that hard-fought day, became afterward Brigadier-General of the Revolutionary Army; John Brooks became the Governor of Massachusetts; Colonel Read commanded Charlestown Neck; Colonel Bridge was severely wounded.

254, 255. Milton's "Paradise Lost," Book V., lines 310, 311.

256-275. Joseph Warren, the hero martyr of the Battle of Bunker Hill, was a graduate of Harvard University, a distinguished physician, and a natural leader, whose combined patriotism and wisdom prophesied at the outset his promotion. He had already been elected President of the Provincial Congress, had contributed to the success of Lexington, and had been made a Major-General by Congress on the 17th of June, 1775. His fine culture and exquisite beauty of character, joined to his true heroism, made him the first distinguished loss in the Revolutionary War.

285-287. Battle of Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776.
Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.
Battle of Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781.
Battle of Camden, Aug. 6, 1780.
Battle of Bennington, Aug. 16, 1777.
Battle of Saratoga, Oct. 7, 1777.

[1] W. H. Prescott, the historian, was the grandson of Prescott of Revolutionary fame.

LINE **322–324.** The Boston Port Bill, 1774, closed that port to all commerce, and transferred the seat of Colonial Government to Salem, who rejected with scorn this opportunity for promotion at the expense of her old neighbor.

363–365. The first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in September, 1774. At this Congress fifty-one delegates were present, and every colony was represented except Georgia.

379. Lexington, April 19, 1775, gave the first eight men to the cause of Liberty in the Revolutionary war.

384, 385. Virgil's "Æneid," Book VI., lines 725, 726.

"Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

"One soul is shed through all,
That quickeneth all the mass, and with the mighty thing is blent."
William Morris.

395, 396. It was a grim joke of Franklin, when, at the suggestion of Hancock that they "must all hang together," he responded, "Yes, or we shall all hang separately."

397, 398. Josiah Quincy, the orator and patriot, did valiant service to the Revolutionary cause by political essays and by his legal defence in the trial which attended the Boston Massacre; he died on a return voyage made in the service of his country, from England to America, April 17, 1775.

404, 405. The four New England Colonies were Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island.

407, 408. An instance of the threefold form alluded to on page nine.

418–420. The Colonial Congress of Massachusetts had presented after the Stamp Act of 1765, a petition to King George III., and a memorial to both Houses of Parliament. William Pitt had championed the cause of the colonists in England; yet, although the Stamp Act was repealed, the doctrine of Pitt was formally repudiated by a Declaratory Act, asserting the power of Parliament over the Colonies in all cases whatsoever. It was this Act that made their cause known to Europe.

Line 425. Among the more important of these Revolutionary state papers are the "Report of Franklin before the House of Commons," 1767; Jonathan Mayhew's discourse on the "Righteousness of Rebellion;" Samuel Adams's "Papers on the Rights of the Colonies;" James Otis's "Letter to a Noble Lord;" the "Address of Richard Henry Lee," adopted by Congress, 1775; "Patrick Henry's Speech in the Virginia Convention," 1775; Thomas Paine's "Separation of Britain and America;" Josiah Quincy's Letters; and the Declaration of Independence.

436-438. About fifteen hundred were engaged on the American side, against twenty-five hundred of the British forces. The official record reads "Americans: killed, 115; wounded, 305; captured, 30; total, 450. British: killed, 206; wounded, 828; total, 1,054." This disparity of numbers caused Edward Everett rightly to name this battle the "American Marathon."

440-445. The Marquis de Lafayette was the most distinguished foreign guest of this occasion. His name headed the subscription list for the monument, and such was his enthusiasm for the enterprise that he wrote, "In all my travels through the country, I have made Bunker Hill my Polar Star." And when one reads the magnificent eulogy included between lines 445 and 493, one is disposed to believe that Webster, too, made this point the Polar Star of his oratory.

448, 449. The Marquis de Lafayette offered, not only his services, but a generous portion of his fortune to the American Colonists. He arrived in the United States in the spring of 1777, was given the commission of Major-General, was engaged in several battles of the Revolution, being wounded in one, and remained in the service until the war was virtually ended. His visit to the United States, 1824-5, was a triumphal progress of a Nation's guest. His loyalty to the Republic continued throughout his life, as is evidenced by one of his latest sayings to Louis Philippe, "You know that I am a Republican, and that I regard the Constitution of the United States as the most perfect that ever existed."

485-487. General Greene was especially the hero of Eutaw Springs; Gates, of Saratoga; Sullivan, of Brandywine; and Lincoln, of Charleston.

490. "Serus in cœlum redeas." "Horace," Book I., ode II., line 45.

"Late may you return to heaven."

LINE **491–493.** Lafayette, after experiencing many vicissitudes of fortune in his own country, died May 20, 1834.

495–497. The introduction to this second review of the half-century, savors too much of repetition (*vide* lines 157–193) to add to the value of the oration, while the simile of line 505 is rather clumsily carried out.

521–523. A poetic prophecy literally fulfilled in our own day by the laying of the Atlantic Cable.

510–535. In general, the beauty of Webster's paragraphs owes much more to logic than to rhetoric. In this passage he reverses the case.

547–550. It is worth noting that this "incredible use of machinery" did not include most of the steam machinery in use to-day. At this time all our foreign intelligence came to us by way of sailing-vessels.

559–588. Probably, during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic dynasty, the nature of government was discussed as in no other age of the world. Thrones insecure by election or inheritance had tottered to their fall, while few had remained unshaken.

605–607. Another instance of the threefold, compound sentence.

646, 647. A famous antithetical sentence, frequently quoted in public speeches.

649. It was the ambition of Louis XIV. to make France great through an absolute monarchy. His policy is always referred to as "*L'État, c'est Moi*," "The State, that is Myself!" the French rendering of the English principle of "the divine right of kings" which Charles I. expiated on the scaffold.

667, 668. Pope's translation of Homer's "Iliad," Book XVII., lines 729, 730.

> "Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
> Give me to see — and Ajax asks no more."

685–708. From the capture of Constantinople, 1453, until 1829, Greece was oppressed to the last degree by the Mohammedan power. Mr. Webster refers to the struggle of 1820–1829, when Marco Bozzaris, the Leonidas of Modern Greece, had perished at Missolonghi, and when Lord Byron, in whom both England and America took sad interest, had died in the same cause (1824). The temporary defeat that the brave Greeks suffered at this period, aroused the sympathy

of all Europe, and by the aid of foreign allies, Greek independence was acknowledged by the Turkish Sultan in 1829.

LINE **720–723.** The Revolution of the Spanish Colonies began in 1810, and the Republics were established in the following order: Chili, 1817; Colombia, 1819; La Plata, now Argentine Republic, 1810; Paraguay, 1810; Peru, 1821.

757. From this point to the end of the address, note the character of a perfect peroration.

912, 913. John Quincy Adams was inaugurated March 4, 1825.

917-919. Solon, one of the seven wise men of Greece who remodelled the Constitution of Athens, 594 B.C. Alfred the Great, who bears to authentic English history, as Arthur to mythic English history, the relation of first recorded hero.

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